

Speech of Mr. Carlos Morales A., Radical Party Chile.

Dear Brother Betico Croes, federal members of the table, Brothers and Sisters, I would like to express my gratitude on behalf of the Partido Radical de Chile for the invitation sent to us by the chairman of the M.E.P. of Aruba, Brother Betico Croes, to participate in this important event as one of the events that are to take place for the celebration of the ten years of the M.E.P. We all also like to express to the M.E.P. our congratulations for having been accepted in the 15th Congress of the Socialist International held in Madrid in November 1980 as a consultative member. Therefore it has become a brother party. As Chileans and Latin Americans this membership is highly satisfactory, since 1972, when the 12th Congress of the Socialist International was held in Vienna, the Partido Radical de Chile became full member of said International and has made all efforts together with other parties to enlarge the membership of Latin American countries and today we have 11 full members and four consultative members. We have to continue struggling together with all the parties that defend the principles of democratic socialism in order to be able to have our parties at the head of all the American countries. We have to participate in the discussion of the topic of the political situation in Latin America, where apart from the representative from the Partido Radical de Chile, we have prestigious representatives of Salvador, Jamaica and Guatemala. And therefore I would like to approach this topic from the South American standpoint, making perhaps also some overall considerations regarding the Caribbean and Central America.

The methodology I would use will be to group the several countries in the following manner:

First of all: Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, countries that have a democratic Government by representatives elected by means of pre-elections. Afterwards: Guyana, Surinam. Third: Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, that at present find themselves under a dictatorship.

My analysis will be limited to the existing realities at the present time, which will allow us in considering the moment we are living the projection of steps that could be designed to enlarge our political formulations, because I am convinced of the feasibility of the democratic socialism in Latin America and the Caribbean. The democratic socialism in the trance that was defined yesterday by Jaime Iusinchí in his interesting presentation, not a social democracy, since this is not our political theory and it does not correspond to the objectives of the Socialist International. Socialism is democratic due to the reasons that all of you know very well, especially our Brothers of the M.E.P. Our democratic socialism in Latin America has in my opinion more than any other political expression of the one set out, valid in the contemporary society, Marxism, Leninism, with its different varieties, such as the Maoist, Yugoslavian, Trotskists, etc., the questioned democracy or fascism. If we study in a synthesized manner the political facts of the last ten years, analyzing then from the standpoint of electoral definitions, support this thesis.

In Venezuela President Luis Herrera Campins, thanks to the electoral victory of COPEI, a party of the christian democracy, they are in power since the last election. A.D. is also a member of the Socialist International. We are not here to discuss the reasons due to which Acción Democrática was defeated, I think it would be convenient to consider them in the debate in order to make pragmatic contribution for the theory of our struggle.

I would like to clarify that Acción Democrática was defeated, but obtained

a very high percentage of votes. And behind COPEI there were many parties that supported its victory due to different commitments that have not been fully opened. In presenting each of the different parties that exist in Venezuela, a candidate for the presidency of the Republic they produce an atomising effect, thus not allowing the workers to vote for the Acción Democrática. This attitude of the leftist parties of Venezuela should be taken into consideration, since small problems in this case made COPEI gain power. A party that is mostly motivated by the action of the church and with great commitments with the imperialism. There were several parties, such as the communist party, that even though it is legally registered and has the means or had the means for propaganda and the electoral campaign obtained less than 1% of the general vote.

COPEI moves at a worldwide level, it forms part of the Christian Democratic Movement in international level and they have held meetings in Madrid and Washington, where they designed actions that are contradictory with those of the parties that really want to modify the social, political, and economic situation in our countries.

Furthermore, the reactionary policy of COPEI is being felt by the Venezuelans in a very strong manners, especially the working class and all of those who struggle to free our peoples, among them the revolutionaries of El Salvador, who have been submitted to a genocide due to the criminal attitude and anti-christian attitude of the military board that is at present in power in that sister country. Nevertheless this board has been supported by President Herrera Campins and his Government and in an attitude very negative from the hand of President Reagan. The speaker of COPEI in Central America to implement this policy has been the ex-Chancellor of Rafael Caldera's, Aristides Calvani.

Undoubtedly, in face of the facts that are taking place in Venezuela, both in the domestic, as well as international level, the leaders of the leftist parties must have a reflected about this situation, so that they will try

to establish the necessary contacts with Acción Democrática for the future elections, in order to achieve success, since Acción Democrática is the only party in Venezuela that can defeat COPEI. This party has its own internal problems, because Rafael Caldera, about a month ago, presented his proposal to be the candidate for the next elections.

Acción Democrática has extraordinary leaders to direct adequately the next electoral campaign, such as for the former presidents, Presidents Romulo Betancourt and Carlos Andrés Pérez, Dr. Gonzalo Barrios, Jaime Lusinchí, recently appointed Secretary General of the party, Carlos Canache Mata, Enrique Tejera París, and many others. The parties of the Socialist International and similar forces with which we are in contact, should unite the efforts to help Acción Democrática to succeed in the next elections. It is a brother party and the solidarity on the hand of all of us should be effected to counteract the movement towards the right of COPEI. On the 12th of this month, President Herrera Campins, when he presented his second report to the Congress he reiterated his support to the military board of El Salvador and also to President Reagan's Government.

This is in contradiction with the solidarity of Acción Democrática with the struggle of the Sandinistas revolutionaries who obtained the victory in Nicaragua.

Colombia.

This country deserves a special study on the hand of those of us who struggle for the ideals that were proclaimed by Bolivar on the last century. The Latin American concept of Bolivar is even more valid today than ever, especially

when we observe a reactionary policy in the present Government of Colombia. During the recent visit of President Figueiredo of Brasil, Turbay Ayala requested in the present situations when we have to face the hegemonic policy of Reagan and joint action of Colombia and Brasil, so that they feel the vacuum that exists at present in Latin America and this is against the interests and realities of the Latin American countries. And this attitude can only be defined as an aberration. Since this political vacuum has never existed on the hand of the U.S.A., what has always existed is an insistence of Washington of trying to impose its own policy to each one of the Latin American countries, whether under Carter's Government or those who came before him. To tell Reagan's Government that they should fill this vacuum that supposedly exist, is to present to him an open door to interfere in the internal problems of Latin American countries. If we take into account the situation in El Salvador and Central America as a general, which Turbay Ayala used an example of this vacuum, this is even worse.

In this declaration it is said that in the present world situation it is necessary that the relationships between Latin America and the U.S. should acquire a new dimension. Which dimension and on what terms? More or less intervention of Washington in Latin American affairs, inequalities in the commercial trade or control in the international relationships? Turbay Ayala also requested that the O.A.S. should have the same importance they had in the forties and the fifties, in other words when the regional organization was an appendix of the State Department.

To these political reactionary definitions that are alien to the interests of our area, we must add the severe problems that have to be faced by the Colombian Government at a domestic level, due to the mobilization of popular groups or of radicalized groups in their tactic actions, most of them without an ideological feasible expression to attract the masses.

We believe that to carry out a political action to strengthen the links of leaders of the radical party unnecessary to solve the problems that the Colombian masses are suffering. The Colombian society requires a political action with great urgency, otherwise one of the few democracies we still have in the area would be in danger.

Ecuador.

Once the military Governments were overthrown, President Roldós took over the Government of Ecuador and the popular forces, under the leadership of Assad Bucarán, he was able to prevent the implementation of reactionary measures of the hand of the Government.

All of this determined that the last elections of the Parliament the popular party was defeated. Raúl Baca, one of the main leaders of Izquierda Democrática, a party that is a member of the Socialist International, is the main leader of the Parliament at present. The problems that President Roldós has to face who has done an excellent job in the integrationist policy and self-determination of the peoples, deserves to be supported in order to strengthen it. We therefore consider of the maximum importance the role that Izquierda Democrática should play, a party that needs of the highest solidarity of all the parties that form the Socialist International. The definition of the theory and programs of Izquierda Democrática, all of this should incentivate the brother parties to strengthen and reinforce its political deeds in Ecuador.

Peru.

The military dictatorships that held power until the success of Belaúnde Terry left the working class in very bad conditions, a very severe inflationary situation and those of us who have studied the development of all the situation in Peru, can understand that Belaúnde has been trying to solve this situation after so many years of military dictatorship.

Nevertheless it is a concern for the popular feeling what is happening in Peru, particularly when Acción Popular, party of President Belaúnde, supported an anti-terrorist law, which caused a difference of opinion, since it was qualified as an instrument to push the left. The law being discussed is considered as a threat to the freedom of expression and the sanction for so called terrorist could be between ten and twenty years. As you can see, the doctrine of terrorism of Mr. Reagan unilaterally, referring to all kinds of movements for liberation is giving results even at legislated levels.

We would like the political, economic and social reality of Peru be recognized.

We must pay special attention to what APRA could do up to the Congress of Geneva of the Internationally of 1976 was an observing party. The difficulties that APRA had, above all due to positions of ideology should cause us to meditate, particularly for who are in favour of overthrowing all the obsolete situations that exist in America. APRA has been considered a party where we can continue to support it, since it needs it in the present scenario, in which said society in Peru is developing. In my opinion it is the party that has most ideological analogies with those of us who meet at this important event.

Guyana.

With regard to regions Guyana, Surinam and Guyana, we could generically say that it is a group of territories, part of South America, one of the most backwards areas with very little population mainly because they have been under European colonial systems, that has done very little or nothing for the people, except to exploit their wealth. Today one of those regions has not obtained its independence, because it is under the French colonial domination.

The M.E.P. should support the consolidation of democratic forms in these forgotten areas of our continent, establishing contact would prove, make the presence of the most progressist areas of our society, fully known.

We cannot overlook the military considerations that occur in Surinam and the poverty that occurs in the French Guyana and Guyana, as occurs in that area, since there are hopes for improvement in other part of the country.

Dictatorship; Argentina.

On the 29th of March the President resigned, General Videla. General Roberto Viola took the presidency. He was appointed by the armed forces, just like that. The heads of the armed forces met and decided to remove one General and put in another General, notwithstanding the popular sovereignty. It is one of the periodical innovations that this has brought about.

You all know the series of difficulties that occurs in that dictatorship. The economic policy has gone from failure to failure as can be seen by one of the nations that has a high inflationary procedure, one of the greatest of our

planet, a great unemployment rate, bankruptcies which increase year by year, repression, thousands of dead, and political prisoners, people who disappeared, and situations that to give rights to a good attack, what occurred in Bolivia, when García Meza destroyed the process of democracy that was on going last year. In this ominous summary of a dictatorship that has been for more than five years an illegitimate power.

The people have been struggling as a result of internal difficulties and the international condemnation that has occurred for this military situation, as can be said the Socialist Internationally, in the Congress of Geneva, 1976, Vancouver 1978, and Madrid 1980, and the committee of the Socialist Internationally for Latin America and the Caribbean in its meeting in Santo Domingo in 1980, and just recently in Panama.

It is plausible to stress how different political forces struggle to unify action which will allow them to increase their struggle. We can see this mainly in the socialist currents of thought, such as the popular socialist thought of four members of the Socialist Internationally, directed by Dr. Alicia Moreau, widow of Justo. We hope at this crucial moment solutions will be found where efforts must be united. The integrate of the peronistas must get away from the inertia. The Unión Cívica Radical should not be so uncontent with what is going on. As this happens a good path to take would be a union of the working classes, because the struggle of the masses should create what has been called the war positions with the prospect of harmonizing the Argentinian movement, which would increase political union and accelerate it.

At the moment we have to be with our eyes on General Viola. The 13th he went to Washington, of course to receive instructions. Of course leaders, such like Raúl Alfonsín, of the left wing of the Unión Cívica Radical, when this visit to Mr. Reagan was made it would have been timely that before going to the United States, he would have said a few words to the Argentinian people of the return to democracy, or as Oscar Alende said, that he felt it was natural that representatives of the armed forces, not of the people of Argentina, may contact in order to carry out its work.

Bolivia.

The democratic opening was imposed by the struggle of the masses, the increase of the political awareness of the different sectors, and the international pressure on the pro fascist Bánzer Government. The first presidential election took place in May 1978. The fraud prepared by Banzer was so scandalous that the computations produced more votes than there were voters. Anyhow, Hernán Siles Suazo conquered.

General Pereda asked for an annulment of the elections. And there was another coup, one after the other, one after the other, another coup, another coup, and another coup d'État. And the last was on the 9th of July 1979. Finally Hernán Siles was up again, but since any of the candidates had a complete majority, the Congress had to decide. The Parliament decide to appoint an interim President up to 29th of June 1980, and had elections again. This was Walter Guevara, but he was suffering another coup in November by General Busch. In the eleven days that the Colonel was in power in La Paz, he killed more than 500 people. Matusch, insane committed two mistakes: he let the Congress go on and did not close down the media.

The Congress appointed a new President again, Lidia Gueiler Quezada, and by June of 1980 she would call new elections.

Under the Lady President we had the elections on 29th of June 1980, 14 candidates were put up, 90% of the votes were for four of them: Hernán Siles in the first place 40%; Paz Estensoro 20%; Bánzer 18%, and Quiroga Santa Cruz 10%, from the Socialist Party.

All the political parties, with the except of the fascists that supported Bánzer, recognized the victory of Siles, and thus in the Congress there was an 30% of votes. But this democratic process which would have set aside the phantom of coup d'états was interrupted again with another coup d'état.

The General created another military coup and the troupes took the streets on the 17th of July, attacked the working confederation where the leaders of the National Committee for the Defence of Democracy was meeting. And Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz was imprisoned and murdered and they killed a great democratic hope for Bolivia by killing him.

The days that follow were filled with blood shed. People died, people disappeared, all of them workers, miners, and we see the day that the Bolivian strugglers have created a new bourgeoisie of the traffic of drugs. Two billion dollars a year of this dirty trade is been carried on. Among these people we can stress Norberto Salomón, a former minister of Bánzer, and Luis Arze, the present Minister of Interior of the dictator García Meza, the proprietor of the company "Oasis del Aire", which are the planes that they use to carry the drugs.

And this Government has been blessed by Washington. For many Governments the political parties and important international organizations, the spokesmen for Bolivia are Suazo and Jaime Paz as Vice President. We were able to see that this was true last November, in Madrid, when unanimously the Congress asked for an applause for the speaker, Vice President Jaime Paz. This is the correct line to follow, we must struggle for this in order to defeat the new dictator.

Brasil.

Ever since Joao Goulart fell in 1964, the military have disgoverned this great nation. The failures have been notorious all types of failures, as well as in other areas it is common to see what identify them all. People have spoken of the process of democratization which is taking place in Brasil. It will not be easy for it occur due to the daily pressures from the empire to the north.

We shall have to continue to become closer and stronger behind this struggle of the farmers and to define M.D.B. and the worker's party under Brizola, who has been in good contact with many political forces in America and Europe.

Paraguay.

The dictatorship of Stroessner has been going on for more than twenty years. The opposing forces struggle more and more to defeat it and among them we must stress the Febrerist Revolutionary Party, which became a full member of the Internationally in November.

Uruguay.

It gives us much hope to see that there is the unitary movement obtained by the most important political forces of the country, such as the red and white parties. At the beginning of 1980 Democratic Convergency Party was set up, Juan Ferreira, the son of Wilson Ferreira, is being strongly supported

by all the democratic forces of law and order, and the political future can be evaluated as very good, particularly after having caused a failure of the dictatorship when saying "NO" to the fraud that was being perpetuated in 1980. Even more important than the rejection of a constitutional text, what the Uruguayan people have wished to express and have expressed at the first time they were consulted after the dictatorship was fallen, was a rejection of the regime. With the repressive solutions, cohesion of the public freedoms and terrorism on the part of the State.

Democratic Convergence Party has stressed that the components that come from different ideological, political and social areas would not act as particularly representatives of these areas, but as a whole would represent the large national majorities. It is a good lesson, a good theoretical and pragmatic lesson for many of those who struggle in Latin America.

Chile.

A great deal has been said and written of the dictatorship of Pinochet. This is a result of the covered action of CIA as was established by the Chairs Committee in the North American Senate per se. It is one of the most bloody dictatorships of the area, thousands of dead, thousands of people disappeared, a million exiled who may not return to their homeland, a liquidation of the trade union movements, closing of the Congress, overlooking and rejecting any liberty, an economic model of capitalistic accumulation which favours transnationals and political oligarchies. In the beginning of the year a Government with a fraudulent plebiscit established a new so called Constitution, which since it was carried out cowardly behind the people's knowledge, has been repudiated worldwide. And by the meeting of the United Nations and it was rejected by 97 votes against 8.

Due to this constitution Pinochet will govern for 8 years more. He has been $7\frac{1}{2}$ years, that will mean $15\frac{1}{2}$ years, and can be reelected for another period of time, in other words he can be re-elected until the end of the century. There will be no Congress during the first 8 years, nor will political parties be set up if they were prescribed. Thus the power is given to the Military Junta which is managed by the dictator. Anyone who may state that he recognizes the struggle of the masses or in favour of them, can be imprisoned and penalized. Pinochet received the power to expel from the country and prevent any return anyone he feels that he would without any recourse or appeal. So weak is the dictator due to the growth of the struggle of the people hungry for piece of liberty in who the adoption of new forms in a daily struggle that Pinochet the same they as he took power in the "Casa de Presidencia of Chile", where President Salvador Allende was killed, he asked the Military Junta to give him the power to decree a state of emergency for 6 months.

The people that struggle in the interlands clandestinely and those who struggle abroad, organized their actions to defeat the Tyran, as the propaganda stated worldwide, the tyran returned at the scene of the crime as all criminals do, when took over the palace of the president.

We believe that the struggle of the masses can obtain its own victories and cause a united incantation which is needed by the people in Chili so that the strength of christian democracy can come to an understanding of in the way the political parties of the homeland of Artigas achieved.

Given you all this information that speaks of the political situation of South America, we must only give you some general ideas of the Caribbean area, Central America and Mexico. Imperialism would cynically intervene sending military counselors to El Salvador, weapons and dollars to the Junta Militar, to squash the revolutionaries who are considered terrorists. Their Diplomatic envoys failed completely, those with their famous white paper, because of the majority of the men in Government that were consulted, were against the North American intervention. Based on the fact that the Salvadorian patriots will be helped with weapons of that come from other countries.

Of course, when Mr. Reagan states that El Salvador is his front yard, because he has other parts in his backyard as he said yesterday, under circumstances that all Latin America has always been the backyard of the United States he is looking how to legitimize his open intervention to revive the Monroe Theory of more than 150 years: America for Americans, but they read America for North Americans.

The situation in Central America and the Caribbean is a real gear mesh to set up what can happen in other countries, for example in Mexico, because a policy, even that it is very difficult, might influence even the excellent policy of Mexico. The principles of which of non-intervention and free determination of the peoples traditional in their historical experience, have been defended fully by President Lopez Portillo.

In the case of El Salvador a political solution must be found very soon. We must stop to genocide on the part of the christian democrat Party. The yankee Ambassador, Robert White, of El Salvador, when he said: "The revolution of El Salvador has been caused by social injustice, not by Central American comunists sent from abroad. The main problem the same force of security of the Government. Washington should not increase its help to this Junta in that country".

For the political solution one must place faith in the Revolutionary Democratic Front, President Ungo, a member of the Internationally.

I wish that the measure approved last year in Panama could prosper, so that Willy Brandt could be the intermediary to obtain the political solution, which will prevent more killing in El Salvador. This meeting should support a search for this political solution. Many parliamentary sectors in the people of the United States are also seeking, as they are still traumatized by the chaos in Vietnam.

We must evaluate this action regarding El Salvador, and we must give complete support to the national revolutionary Government of Nicaragua who rarely receives daily attacks to prevent the heroic sandinist revolution which has been working in spite of the North American instructions to consolidate the principles of the democratic revolution.

Concepts such as these must be applied to all the patriots of Central America and the Caribbean areas who struggle for the freedom of their people and more vehemence today due to the danger that seems to be arriving from the Government of the North.

We see the position now of the United States and Mexico, inspired by the thought of Benito Juárez, a 100 years ago stated: "The people and the Government must

respect the rights of all. Among the individuals, as well as among the nations the respect for other's rights means peace".

The present situation has been wisely evaluated by President Portillo's Government. He has reiterated the principles of non-intervention and free determination of the peoples. For Mexico the problem is not in ideology that may be analyzed dialectically accepting them or rejecting them the problem he states is in the intervention of foreign forces in the internal affairs of countries, because in Juarez's opinion this means to lack respect for rights of the people.

For Mexico the solutions to conflicts should be searched through open sincere dialogue and today in Cancun the North-South Meeting is meeting with Bruno Kreisky, with the Austrian Vice President and President of the International.

The international policy of Mexico not only has the support of the political parties legally registered, but all the internal forces and of the immense majority of the countries of the area. It is one of the great hopes of Latin America and the Caribbean.

A few modes theories we got into diagnostic.

For this effect we believe that it is important to mention the opinion of Eduardo Galeano and his book "The open veins of Latin America": "The national division of labour consisted some people specialised in earning money and others in losing money. Our trade with the world that we call Latin America was too early, it started to loose from the beginning when the Europeans of the Renaissance went across the sea to suck their blood through their throat. Latin America improved its functions. It is not the kingdom of the models where the reality defeated fables, the gold, the silver, but the region continues to work. There continue to exist at the service of the needs of foreigners as a source of reserve for oil and iron, copper, beef, fruit, and coffee, the raw materials and foodstuffs, all sent to the rich countries who earned consuming them much more than Latin America earns producing it".

In this dramatic reality what has changed has been the imperialistic exploitations at the moment. We have the northern exploitation.

In a global analysis we might see the imperialistic policy in regard to Latin America, as follows:

1. The theory which is called the "Doctrine of National Security", which is projected to establish limits, Central America and Mexico is considered at the Southern part. And in the strengthening of their military power to achieve superiority these are the any other group as the Chilean professor who teaches political science in Rotterdam, in the Erasmus University, Jorge Tapia, who spoke of state terrorism in January of 1941, the American Journal of Sociology published a paper written by Lasswell, which was called, "The Garrison State" (The Military State). This may be considered as one of the most impressive predictions established in political science.

He gave his hypothesis as a possibility or a probability supposing the non-intervention of foreign factors that have not been thought of to the day that the sand of the world policy was moving towards the situation of domination on the part of the specialists in violence. His concern as he explains had arisen when he considered the new type of factors around the so called demo-

eratic systems mainly the explosive growth of science and modern technology. And the link between those developments and the possibility of controlling large populations and reserves of resources through a immense accumulation of capital he also studied the new characteristics that the war had obtained during the Second World War and he concluded that under the new conditions, physical risks had been, equally as large for military people as well for the citizens who remained at home. Laswell then stressed with the socialization of danger as a permanent characteristic of modern violence, the nation becomes a technical enterprise, which naturally leads to supremacy of the soldier over the businessman or politician.

And finally expressing his concern, Prof. Tapia, and Laswell state, that in developing the peculiarities of the military state, there will be a new kind of professional soldier created by the union of the ability of the specialists in violence with the manager and the entrepreneur. This type of soldier will govern the militarized states and will control large populations through the modern weapons and the technical use of propaganda. Compulsion and coercion will be essential for the military state, as well as an energetic campaign to incorporate young and old into the state missions. The main targets will be the non-skilled labourers and those who come under their oppression. The technological advance has caused the decrease in the importance of workers, and thus they are potential soldiers and thus will be treated with less consideration than ever.

The Military State, Tapia says, will have dictatorship type decisions, not democratic decisions. And the legislative assemblies will be intimidated.

This Laswell hypothesis has been seen around the world much more than his author imagine, but with the same characteristics that he predicted Under the so called "Doctrine of National Security" with fascist feelings in many countries of the so called Third World, and particularly in South America we have seen this arise. This new virulent anti-democratic doctrine had started to control the continent.

2. Another thesis of neo-conservatism of imperialism consist in setting in the second or third level human rights weakly defended by Carter, to put at the first level the struggle against terrorism, cynically and unilaterally considering terrorists all those who struggle for change and struggle to free Latin America from political, cultural and economic dependency, which has been governing it for centuries. To the present Governors of the United States they are terrorists the Salvadorians who wish to end the genocide of their people, the Sandinists who defeated one of the ominous dictatorships, such as that of the Somozas, for those who fight in the Southern area trying to defeat the tyrans and despots that have oppressed their countries. For them this thesis was not successful due to the answers given by many Governments that the empire sent envoys to. In these parameters George Washington would have been a terrorist, when he asked help from France and Lafayette to free the colonies of America. General San Martín would have been a terrorist also, when he asked O'Higgins to help him free Chile. And Simon Bolivar would also have been considered a terrorist, when he liberated and united our dark America. In the face of this delicate state the savage riders of the Apocalypsi are riding abroad with the oppression and the lute by the transnationals of our countries. What can we do? I believe that we could adopt among others decisions as follows:

A - Internationalise Latin Americanise the struggle of all the peoples of Latin America re-updating the Bolivarian vocation;

I am now coming to the "and I should say", that we must start to think how we shall act, what do we have for the immediate liberating battles? We can state categorically that it is very difficult to have the policy of the big stick incorporated again. The people have become aware of their powers of liberation, particularly those of the Third World. Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, Simbabwe, Cuba, Nicaragua, Namibia, El Salvador, Polisario Fronts have demonstrated it and are doing it.

Second, we have been able to see again that new parties and social parties have been united in this process of Latin America, as we have seen in particular during the seventies in the Socialist International that Willy Brandt presides; in the International Committee for Latin America that is presided by Francisco Peña Gómez and the Permanent Conference of Political Parties of Latin America, (COPPPAL), presided by Lic. Gustavo Carvajal Moreno, who is President of the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico, the Secretary Executive of which Segme shares with us this meeting. COPPAL founded on the 12th of October of 1979, in Oaxaca, 23 parties of 15 countries, of being nationalistic, revolutionary, democratic, anti-imperialist parties. And then all of them ready to make a reality stating that America is and must belong to Latin Americans.

Fourthly, without wishing to giving any lessons to this excellent public that hears me. We should give these parties in movements a feasible ideology in Latin America and the Caribbean. Ours that was approved by the Radical Party of Chile, that would become part of the International Socialist in 1972, democratic socialism in the concept approved by the Congress of Frankfurt in 1951. Subject to study for updating.

There is no democracy without socialism, nor socialism without democracy. It is not just a slogan of the Socialist International, it is the broad hope of our desire for liberty.

As Rosa Luxemburo when she criticized the III International of Lenin, it is a well-known fact that without free press, without the right to form unions and to meet, the roll of the great masses of the people is impossible. And freedom will always be freedom for those who think in another way.

Similar opinions are being presented today in the International University of Mexico, as Prof. of the school of political social sciences in the courses on Worker's Internationalism and democratic socialism in Latin America and the Caribbean.

On concluding my presentation I believe that I should remember our Nobel Prize, Pablo Neruda, when the time comes for the General Song he said:

"Do not refuse to receive the death who struggled. Each bead of wheat is born from a seed planted in the land, and the roots gather together and form sheets and go out into the sunlight of the universe".

Thank you very much. All success in the process for liberty for Latin America and the Caribbean, a free America owner of its own wealth. In an independent Aruba where the seagull of the M.E.P. will reach the sunlight of the universe.